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ABSTRACT

A study of the status of Native American women in higher education obtained questionnaires from 61 undergraduate women at 4 colleges and 9 women with advanced degrees, interviewed 6 women in or about to enter graduate programs, and reviewed previous research and available statistical data. Results indicated that: relatively few Native American women have participated in higher education; they tended to major in education or social service fields and intended to work after graduation; they were given as much or more family encouragement to enter college as their male relatives; Indian men and women have had similar problems in getting a college degree; undergraduates perceived discrimination against them as more racist than sexist; and the greatest pressures on Indian women may have been those associated with traditional Indian values toward home and family. Recommended research topics were aspiration to college of male and female Native American high school students, parental attitudes and encouragement, and the role of personality differences in college success or failure. Appendices include statistical data, questionnaires, and tabulated responses on birthplace, age, tribe and degree of Indian blood, pre-college schooling, college class and major, career and degree objectives, race and sex discrimination, and family background and attitudes. (MH)

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THE STATUS OF NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

The traditional stereotype of the Native American woman is that of the fat squaw, trudging along ten paces behind her man. The essence of this stereotype was expressed by Joseph Gilfillan, a Christian missionary in Minnesota. Writing in 1901, Gilfillan described the tall, graceful Ojibwe male, bounding gracefully through the forest unburdened except for his bow and arrow, while behind him plodded the stodgy, rotund Ojibwe female, bearing an enormous burden on her back. Gilfillan attributed the rotundity and stodginess of the female to the fact that generations of Ojibwe women had borne tremendous burdens on their backs, and in some evolutionary sense they had been squashed down by them.[1] The opposite, and much less common, extreme of this stereotype is that of the exotic Indian maiden, large of eye and breast, whose lasciviousness was a source of comment by many early travelers in North America. Rayna Green and Shirley Hill Witt have both commented upon the existence of this stereotype.[2]

Certainly in the historic past Native American women have played far different roles than those dictated by stereotypes. Women who are presently involved in higher education can look to historical models of Indian women as students and as educators. Susette LaFleshe, an Omaha, was educated at the Elizabeth Institute for Young Ladies in Elizabeth, New Jersey from 1872 to 1875 after attending a Christian mission school on the Omaha reservation.

In order to obtain a teaching position in the Bureau of Indian Affairs school on the reservation, she had to write to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs protesting the fact that the Bureau was not implementing its policy of Indian preference in hiring. She also had to defy the Indian agent's refusal to allow her to leave the reservation to take an examination for a teaching certificate. She was finally given a position at the agency day school (at $20 per month, half the salary paid to non-Indian teachers at the school).[3] She finally gained reknown by touring the East Coast speaking out aginst the forced removal of the Ponca Indians from their reservation in Nebraska to one in Oklahoma. She was generally known by the English translation of her Omaha name, Bright Eyes.

Sarah Winnemucca, daughter of the famous Paiute leader in Nevada, established a school for Indian children at Vancouver Barracks, Washington territory, in 1878. Whether she ever had any formal education is not clear from her autobiography.[4]

Susan LaFleshe, the sister of Susette, went to Hampton Institute in Virginia, where she graduated in 1886. She was admitted to the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, from which she graduated in 1889 at the head of her class, thus becoming the first American Indian woman physician.[5]

The contemporary stereotype of the Indian woman is generally that of the poverty stricken hag, worn out with child rearing and totally subserviant to her man. There are some unfortunate elements of truth in this last stereotype. Indians have the highest rate of natural increase of any of the population subgroups in the United States—three percent per year. The birth rate in 1970 was 155 births per 1,000 Indian women ages 15-44 (for nonwhites and whites the rates were 114 and 84 per 1,000 respectively).[6] In terms of

income, the Office of Special Concerns in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reported in 1974 that "The income level of American Indians nationally, whether for persons or families, males or females, is significantly lower than that of any group in the population."[7] The median income of Indian women is $1,697. That of all U.S. women is $2,404. That of all U.S. men is $6,614.[8]

If the statistics seem to support the stereotype, they certainly do not define the role of Native American women. The group of women that is the subject of this study, Native American women in higher education, constitutes a very small but very significant percentage of the total Native American female population in the country. In 1970, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, 23,632 Native American women had completed some college (10.1 percent of the total Native American female population).[9] Only 5,861 had completed four years or more of college (2.5 percent of the total Native American female population). Current enrollments were not indicated for women.[10] For Indian men, 3.5 percent of the total male population had completed four years of college or more.[11] Indian women who have completed four years of college thus constituted approximately .76 percent of the total Native American population in 1970.

If the subject population available for this study is small, it is also diffuse. According to Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates received from the Office of the Indian Education Resources Center, Division of Evaluation, Research, and Development, Bureau of Indian Affairs in Albuquerque, New Mexico, approximately 16,500 American Indian college students received scholarships and attended nearly 600 institutions of higher learning throughout the continental United States during the 1974-75 academic year. The Bureau does not

keep specific records by sex, and it is difficult to ascertain how many of the Indian students who have been or are currently supported by the Bureau are male and how many are female. The most current statistics available on total enrollment in the Bureau's higher education program are those from fiscal year 1974. They show a total of 13,895 students receiving aid.[12] A survey conducted by the Office of Evaluation and Program Review of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1973 drew 2,736 responses, aproximately 21 percent of approximately 13,000 students enrolled in college under the Bureau's higher education program during the 1972-73 academic year. Of the respondents, 52 percent were female.[13] Because of the nature of the survey, it required voluntary participation by students (questionnaires were mailed out and students were requested to mail them back). One could conclude from the response rates that either there was a slightly higher percentage (52 percent to 48 percent) of women students than men students, or that Indian women students are more conscientious than men in filling out and returning questionnaires.

In the information on higher education that I was able to obtain from the Bureau's Division of Evaluation, Research and Development, only one brief report showed data by sex. That report will be mentioned later in the paper.

The data available concerning total numbers of Indian students are confusing. The Bureau of Indian Affairs reported a total of 13,895 students under its sponsorship in fiscal year 1974. Of that number, 13,374 were undergraduates and 512 were graduate students. For the fall, 1974 academic term, the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reported a total of 32,757 Indian students, of whom 14,544 were female and 18,213 were male. A total of 3,465 graduate students were reported, of whom 1,491 were female and 1,974 were male.[14] The 1970 Census showed only 14,191

Native American students enrolled in college (no statistics by sex were included).[15] The Office of Civil Rights figures come from self-identification forms that are generally issued by universities and colleges when students register. The factor of self-identification complicates the issue of accuracy of data. One cannot necessarily assume that all students are identifying themselves as others would identify them. The magnitude of the numbers reported as full-time Indian undergraduate students raises some suspicions as to the extent of Indian identity of those students. If the 1970 Census reported only 14,191 Native American students on a basis of self-identification, it seems unlikely that that total would have increased by a factor of almost three by 1974.

In an attempt to compile current data on Native American students supported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, regional offices of the Bureau were written for information concerning the current numbers of college students that they listed. The response wes limited. Of the eleven offices contacted, six responded. The Anchorage office reported 417 females and 367 males for the 1976-77 school year; Aberdeen had 369 females and 456 males but pointed out that it did not keep records on all students in the Aberdeen area; Sacramento reported 355 females and 354 males for the 1975-76 school year; the Muskogee area office had no statistics but recalled that at some time in the past approximately half of their scholarship holders were female and that they were funding approximately 2,500 students this year; the Billings office had no statistics at the area office level but sent a list of agencies to contact; and the Minneapolis office sent a form letter thanking me for my interest in the Bureau's higher education program and including a list of agencies to contact for scholarship application forms and information. Time did not permit a

follow-up with the unresponsive area offices or the agencies whose addresses I obtained. Since no current statistics were forthcoming from the Bureau's central office in Washington, D.C. or its division of research in Albuquerque, New Mexico, I am forced to conclude that there are no current statistics compiled in one place that would show how many Indian men and how many Indian women are currently supported by the Bureau in higher education.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

This paper will attempt to describe a group of people--Native American women who are currently involved in higher education (junior colleges, four-year colleges and universities, and graduate programs) either as students or as faculty members. Any conclusions about current enrollment statistics would have to be interpolated from figures covering the 1974 fiscal year, and no definitive statements can be made. Thus there is a limitation on a quantitative description of the group to be studied.

I have undertaken to draw certain conclusions about the group based on interpretations of past information and to gather descriptive and qualitative information on the basis of questionnaires and personal interviews. What will emerge will be a profile of predominant characteristics and a concensus of personal perceptions that Native American women in higher education have about themselves.

Review of the Literature

In a review of the literature on Native American students in higher education, information on women must be extracted from general studies, and most of those studies have very little, if any, sex-specific data. Most of the sources identified consist of research reports prepared by various government

agencies (often by contract with private research firms) or of theses and dissertations written by graduate students in colleges of education. Many of these reports and theses are available only through Dissertation Abstracts, interlibrary loan, or the Education Resources Information Clearinghouse.

Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from the literature that has been reviewed to date. Three studies of high school students can be used as some indication of the pool of students available for college work. In one study of Indian students, a sample of 345 students were identified from Bureau, public, and private schools in the Southwest. Those students represented all Indian students enrolled in the eighth grade in the fall of 1962. Of those, 182 were male and 163 were female. Over a four-year period the dropout rate was practically the same for males and females--38.66 and 38.73 respectively.[16] This would indicate that Indian women in high school are probably as likely candidates for college as men. A study of 135 urban Indian teenagers in Minneapolis, Minnesota in 1968 revealed that 95 were interested in attending college, while 40 were not. Of the number aspiring to college, 52.6 percent were females and 47.4 percent were males.[17]

In a study by Larson an attempt was made to test the effects of income level on aspiration to college and on educational behavior of all students in four rural high schools in Montana with significant Indian populations. The study indicated that there was little correlation between income level and educational behavior or aspiration of Indian and non-Indian students. What correlation there was was suggestive rather than definitive. Larson concluded that cultural factors might have to be considered to account for differences in responses between Indian students and non-Indian students. For example, there were some significant differences in percentages of Indian students who

aspired to college and non-Indian students who aspired to college even within the same income level (48 percent and 61 percent respectively).[18] Larson's data are not broken down by sex, unfortunately.

The Kennedy Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, in its investigation of Indian education in 1969, reported that a study of Indian students in Bureau schools showed that 3/4 of them wanted to go on to college, that three percent desired graduate studies at the master's or doctoral levels, and that less than 18 percent wanted their education to end after high school.[19]

Once the college-aspiring Indian student, whether male or female, gets to college other interesting patterns seem to emerge. One fact pointed out by the Office of Special Concerns report is that although more Indian students are graduating from high school in recent years, not as many are completing college as might be expected.

> A comparison of 1960 and 1970 data (table E-1) shows that the marked increase in Indian high school graduates is not reflected in data on those completing college. While the percentage of persons completing high school (and thus available for college) has increased more than 10% since 1960, the percentage completing college has increased by slightly more than 1%.... Only 1.5% of rural Indians ... have completed college, the lowest proportion of college educated of any population group.
>
> Urban women are three times more likely to have obtained a college education than rural women (3.8% to 1.2% respectively), but the urban rate is less than one-half of the national percentage of women who are college educated.[20]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs Higher Education Newsletter indicates that approximately 60 percent of Indian youth were completing high school in 1970 compared to 40 percent ten years before. About 70 percent of Indian high school graduates went on to some type of post-secondary training. Twenty-five percent of those entered college.[21]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs served approximately 13,000 students in

its higher education program during the 1972-73 academic year, and the evaluation of randomly selected students carried out by the Bureau's Division of Evaluation, Research, and Development has already been mentioned. In that evaluation, 77 percent of those surveyed were in the 18-25 year-old-age range, although 33 percent of that number were in the 21-25 year-old age range.[22] Blood quanta reported were: 1/4, 18 percent; 1/2, 23 percent; 3/4, 12 percent, and 4/4, 47 percent. Sixty-nine percent said that their first language was English, and 84 percent said that they had attended other than a BIA high school. Seventy-seven percent said their parents were the prime motivation for their being in college. Only eight percent of their fathers were college graduates, and only six percent of their mothers were college graduates. Only 35 percent of their fathers had completed high school, while 45 percent of their mothers had done so.[23] The largest single group majoring in one subject was 22 percent, in education. Eleven percent were in social work; six percent were in medicine, mostly nursing; and 61 percent were in other fields.[24]

The emphasis on education as a major field of study seems to hold good through college for many students. The largest number of graduates sponsored by the BIA in fiscal year 1975 was in education (335), while Health fields (198) and Sociology (165) accounted for a total of 353 graduates.[25] A study by Hauck of graduates of Black Hills State College shows that of 30 Native American graduates of the College between 1948 and 1970, all indicated some field of education as a major.[26] Of those graduates, 24 were males and six were females. Woods and Harkins, in their Minneapolis study of Indian teenagers, however, indicate that less than one-fourth of the students considered as being college aspiring were interested in becoming teachers.[27]

The vocational preferences discovered by Abrahams, in a study conducted by administering the Kuder Preference Record--Vocational Form-C to all Indian freshmen and sophomore students at Arizona State University, were primarily in artistic and clerical fields. Men's interests ranged from outdoors as lowest to scientific as next to highest and artistic as highest. For women, interests ranged from mechanical as lowest to artistic as next to highest and clerical as highest.[28] The interests seem to follow traditional patterns of sexual stereotyping. The high interest in artistic areas among both men and women might be a cultural factor, but if one speculates on cultural factors, the low level of interest in outdoors seems inconsistent with traditional cultural patterns.

In terms of academic achievement, there are at least two studies that have attempted to identify factors leading to Indian students' success in college. In a study of students who were enrolled in 43 colleges in the Southwest from 1958 through the first semester of the 1961-62 academic year, researchers found that

> Only 26 out of the 402 Indians in school, for whom grade point averages were available, had a grade average of 2.75 or higher.
> Twelve of those 26 students were from southwestern tribes.
> Thirty-five per cent of the Indians in school had less than a "C" average (2.00).
> On standardized tests the Indians scored lower than the national norms in all areas on all tests, except on the numerical, abstract reasoning, clerical and spelling sub-tests of the Differential Aptitude Test.
> Economic and social variables were not related to grade.
> Cultural and academic variables were related to grades.[29]

This represents only a partial statement of the findings, but it may serve to represent some profile of the students studied. In terms of success rate, the researchers concluded:

> There seems to be a definite, but not striking, tendency for students who come from homes where English is never spoken to do better in college than the students from the other categories.

> Forty-one percent of the students from homes where English is not spoken received a grade point average of 2.0 or better. Thirty-two percent, 31 percent, and 35 per cent respectively of students from homes where English is spoken "some," "usually," and "always" received a grade point average of 2.0 or better.[30]

This study raises some interesting comparisons with the Bureau survey of students in higher education, where 69 percent of the students reported English as their first language. The Southwestern study did not report on dropout rates in the report published in the Journal of American Indian Education, although that article was a summary of the longer report and does not reflect all the findings. The question of bilingualism and success in education at the college level for Native Americans still seems to bear considerable investigation.

In a study of 63 Indian students randomly selected at New Mexico State University from the enrollment of Indian students during the period beginning with the fall quarter 1967 and ending with the spring semester 1971, "persisters and non-persisters" were identified on the basis of statistics on dropouts. The conclusion reached by the investigators was that "The three most important factors for classifying persisting and non-persisting Indian students at New Mexico State University were: college grade point average, sex, and rank in high school, in that order."[31] In relation to sex, it was noted that "among the persisters, 41% were female, but only 23.5% of the non-persisters were female."[32] Thus sex seems to have some relationship in at least one case with persistence in college.

Statistics furnished by the Bureau of Indian Affairs Division of Evaluation, Research and Development showed that of a sample of Indian students at Arizona State University in Tempe during the 1973-74 academic year, female students in each class (Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior) had consistently

higher overall grade point averages than male students except for sophomore female students, whose grade point average was 1.95 compared with the males' 2.12 grade point average.[33] The size of the sample was not indicated, and so the generalizability of this data is highly uncertain.

A research study conducted by Norris at the University of New Mexico in 1970 showed incidentally that in the fall quarter of 1970, women had significantly higher grade point averages than men, a mean of 2.10 for women, 1.75 for men). However, over the year there was a higher dropout rate for women students than for men (20.63 percent for women and 16.01 percent for men). The sample consisted of 63 women and 87 men.[34]

Given the varying and incidental nature of most of the statistics available on Indian women students, it would be impossible to draw any specific conclusions concerning their numbers or their academic achievements. There seems to be a general trend for women to have somewhat higher grade point averages than men students, but no definitive statements can be made.

In terms of numbers, Fuchs and Havighurst estimate that "The ratio of men to women among post-secondary students is approximately 55 to 45."[35] Post-secondary education refers to vocational as well as academic education. If the ratios of men to women indicated by the Office of Civil Rights data (not to assume the validity of the absolute numbers involved) hold true, Native American men do outnumber Native American women in higher education, but this conclusion can only be based on inference. If any assessment is to be made of higher education for Native American students generally, not just women, there will be a need for a major evaluation of record keeping and sources of statistics so that the numbers of those students can be accurately determined.

Women in Graduate Programs

In seeking to identify Native American women in higher education, I have contacted a number of scholarship organizations and professional programs. From those contacts I have compiled the following information.

In the Native American graduate fellowship program funded by the Ford Foundation, forty-seven women have been awarded fellowships since 1970. Of that number, twelve withdrew before completing a degree, five have completed degrees, eleven are currently enrolled in graduate programs, and the status of seven is uncertain. The object of the program is to train Native Americans for college teaching programs, and students are expected to enter a Ph.D. program. The field of study most often selected by the female recipients of the Ford Fellowships was some area of education. Seven women entered that field, three went into guidance and counseling, four entered psychology; three, history; two, sociology or social work; three, anthropology; and two, linguistics. Other fields represented were public health, history of education, genetics, architecture, literature, and music.

In the special program for Indian law students administered through the Center for Indian Law at the University of New Mexico, there are a total of 38 women and 97 men in law schools throughout the country. Of the first year students, 17 are women; of second year students 12 are women, and of third year students nine are women.

In the Harvard Graduate School of Education's program for Native Americans in educational administration, ten men and ten women were enrolled during the 1974-75 academic year. Of those, five women and two men were continuing Ed.D. candidates.

In the Master's degree program in Public Health for Native Americans,

there are seven women in the entering class at the University of California at Berkeley this fall. There are four women in the second year class. There is one woman entering the program this fall at the University of Minnesota. In terms of past graduates, one woman graduated from the program in 1972, three graduated in 1973, four graduated in 1974, and four graduated in 1975.

American Indian Scholarships, Inc., in Taos, New Mexico, supported 106 women and 155 men in higher education during the 1975-76 academic year. This organization has taken the primary responsibility for administering HEW and BIA funded graduate educational programs. Among the women, the major most often chosen (by 48) was in some field of education. Guidance and counseling was chosen by 14, and 10 were in social work. Sixty-three were attending colleges that would appear to be geographically near their place of permanent residence, i.e., Sioux women were likely to attend schools in the Dakotas. Several choices by women who seemed to leave their geographical home area appear to have been made on the basis of the existence of Indian oriented higher education programs, i.e., the University of Arizona for education majors. These conclusions are based on a quick analysis of the list supplied by the American Indian Scholarships, Inc. office. I relied on names as an indication of sex (which is not an entirely foolproof method of determination). As rough as the data are, however, they seem to support a general pattern of Indian women entering some field of education or social service and attending a public college or university fairly close to home.

In seeking to determine how many women were involved in higher education as faculty members, I consulted the survey of American Indian Studies programs conducted by Patricia Locke for the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education in 1974. Fifty-nine women appeared to be in faculty

positions. Ten of the women I have identified as faculty appear to be instructors in language programs. Thirty-one women were listed as counselors or directors of programs without faculty status.[36]

Results of the Student and Faculty Survey

In designing a research plan to discover the status of Native American women in higher education, I have attempted, within the limits already discussed, (Lack of sex-specific data, time period of the data available on Indian students, and widespread distribution of the group to be studied) to seek out a representative sample of Native American women who are college students or faculty members in colleges or universities. In dealing with any study of a female population in a minority ethnic group, one must determine to what extent the question to be addressed is racial identity or female identity, or what combination of the two create an identity. In designing questionnaires to distributed to Native American women in higher education, I was primarily interested in identifying certain objective data which I thought would be especially relevant to the role of Native American women in their own communities and families. Questionnaires were sent to Haskell Indian Junior College, Lawrence, Kansas, and American Indian or Native American Studies programs at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, the University of Montana at Missoula, Montana, and were distributed at the University of California at Berkeley. Indian Studies programs were used as a means of distribution because these programs generally maintain lists of Native American students even though not all Indian students major in those programs. A total of sixty-one questionnaires were returned. Of those 30 were received from Haskell Indian Junior College, 14 from the University of Montana, five from the University of California, and 12 from the University of Oklahoma.

A summary of responses from the student questionnaires is included in appendix eight.

The first page of the questionnaire was intended to elicit descriptive data. Questions were asked about place of birth, age, place of grade and high school attendance, tribe, degree of Indian blood, class, major, career objectives, and degree objectives. In relation to family background, questions were asked about numbers of brothers and sisters in the family, educational achievement of parents, and numbers of brothers and sisters in college. The women in the survey were asked a series of questions related to their intentions for their future education--whether they intended to complete degrees, to go on to graduate school, and to work after they graduated.

In identifying motivational and attitudinal factors, I was hoping to find the relative weight of family (or cultural) background and general societal values attached to education, i.e., economic benefits. I sought to identify the specifically feminine concerns of women students by asking them whether they had received less, equal, or more encouragement than their male relatives to go to college, whether they had ever been discouraged from going to college because they were female, and whether they had been told it was not "The Indian Way" for a woman to go to college. A question was also asked about whether the respondent felt she had been discriminated against in her college career and if so, whether it was because she was a woman or an Indian.

The questionnaire was designed to provide information for a quantitative description of a random sample of Native American women students and to gather opinions from the women concerning their status as Native American women in higher education.

The sample can be considered representative in terms of geographical area. Fifteen women were from northern Plains tribes, sixteen from Southern

Plains tribes, six from southwest tribes, one from California-Nevada tribes, two from New York tribes, five from Northwest Woodlands tribes, and five from the Five Civilized Tribes. Thirty-four were from urban areas and 27 from small rural or reservation communities. This determination was made primarily on the basis of responses to questions about current home address and/or high school attended.

In terms of age, 19 of the women were between 18 and 20, ten were 21 or 22, 15 were 23 to 25, nine were 26 to 30, only one was in the age range 31-35, five were between 36 and 40, and two were 42. However, in terms of college class, 39 women were either freshmen or sophomores, while only eight were juniors or seniors, and three were graduate students. Eleven students did not respond to the question, indicating perhaps uncertainty as to their status or to the terminology. The age range indicates that many women were older than would be expected if they had entered college immediately after completing high school in 12 years. If 39 were freshmen or sophomores while only 19 were between the ages of 18 and 20, then 20 must have been older than 20. The general pattern seems to emerge that Native American women are either graduating from high school at later ages than people who go through the educational system in 12 years, or that they are not entering college directly from high school.

The categories for reporting degree of Indian blood were arbitrarily chosen in order to avoid having to deal with odd fractions such as 31/32 or 15/64. These fractions were rounded to the closest quarter. Of the women in the survey, 52 reported being ½ degree of Indian blood or more. College populations have often been reported as having large percentages of quarter bloods. At least one study assumes a correlation between degree of Indian

blood and degree of assimilation to white values and attitudes. The author of that study uses that assumption as a basis for seeking a correlation between assimilation and positive attitudes toward college education. He states that "The typical Indian student at South Dakota State University is one-quarter Indian , whereas the typical nonparticipant is three-quarters Indian."[37] In a recent study of 66 Indian students in college in Oklahoma, 29 were full-bloods, 18 were 1/2, and 19 were 1/4.[38] The group of women in this study has a lower percentage (9.8percent) of quarter bloods than seems typical of many of the other studies reviewed. No attempt has been made in this study to correlate any factors of achievement or motivation to blood-quantum.

The educational background of the students seems very heavily oriented toward public schools. Only 16 women, for instance, reported going to a BIA or parochial high school. The majority of students were working either toward Associate of Arts degrees (11, this number came from the group at Haskell Indian Junior College) or Bachelor's degrees (39). Although only three reported being graduate students, 13 reported working toward an advanced degree. Eight did not respond to the question, indicating perhaps uncertainty as to degree objective or lack of understanding of the letter abreviations used to designate various degrees. That there was some confusion was obvious from several questionnaires in which students indicated that they were working toward an advanced or graduate degree when they indicated later on in the questionnaire that they did not intend to go to graduate school or when their career objective or major made it obvious that they were in a two-year vocational program. Those responses were discarded from the total count for each degree and were lumped with the several "No Response" counts. The large majority of students (49) indicated that they intended to complete their

bachelor's degree, and 28 indicated that they intended to go to graduate school. However, another 22 indicated that they were uncertain whether they would go to graduate school or not. Only seven definitely indicated that they did not intend to go to graduate school, and only four made no response. It would thus seem that there is a strong interest, motivation, and/or commitment to pursue an advanced degree among the women in this study.

In terms of family background, the question concerning number of brothers and sisters in the family was intended to determine whether there was a basis for comparison of family attitudes toward male and female children in relation to a college education. All but six of the women reported having one or more brothers, and all but five reported having one or more sisters. The mothers of the students tended to have higher educational levels than their fathers. Only 16 of the fathers had completed 11 or 12 years of education, while 24 of the mothers had completed 11 or 12 years. Nine of the mothers had some college, while eight of the fathers had some college work. Eleven students either indicated that they did not know their father's educational level or made no response, while only seven students did not know or did not respond to the question concerning their mothers. An interesting correlation appeared between that group of students identified as coming from rural or reservation backgrounds and those coming from urban backgrounds. Of the rural or reservation students, 12 reported that their mothers had completed more years of school than their fathers. For urban students, only five reported this situation.

Brothers in college were reported by 20 students, and 22 reported having one or more sisters in college (the total number of brothers reported, 31, was greater than the total number of sisters, 24).

The questions dealing with attitudes and opinions were primarily aimed at ascertaining the perceptions that the women had of the responses of others toward them as Native American women in college. The question that asked for a ranking of motivation factors revealed that career objectives were seemingly most important. "Desire for a professional career" was ranked first a total of 17 times and second 10 times. "Need for future employment" (which was interpreted to be an economic motivation) was ranked first 14 times and second 12 times. The factor receiving the lowest overall rankings was "Encouragement by teachers or counselors" which was ranked first only three times and last (fifth) a total of 12 times (more last place rankings than any other factor). If one were to rank the motivational factors on an overall basis for the total population, "Career" would be first, "Employment" second, "Interest" third, "Parental Pressure" fourth, and "Encouragement by teachers or counselors" last. It must be pointed out that not all respondents ranked the factors in numerical order or if they did, did not rank all five. Some respondents merely checked one or more items, in which case each check was counted as a ranking of one. Among the factors that were listed by respondents under the "other" category were such diverse things as "Community encouragement," "Boredom with present job," "self-fullfilment", "ambition," and "Nowhere else to go." The fact that direct pressure or encouragement from others ranked lowest on the scale of motivational factors would seem to indicate that most Native American women are motivated by internalized desires (career and interest) rather than simply responding to outside pressure. A whole questionnaire and study could be devoted to questions of motivation, but that study remains to be done.

Questions that would reveal sexist and/or racist bias by others

toward the Native American woman who chooses a college education seemed to show racism rather than sexism toward those women. In response to the question about whether women felt that they received less, equal or more encouragement than male relatives, only six reported receiving less encouragement. Twenty-six felt that they had received equal encouragement, while 23 felt that they had received more, and one reported both answers. It would seem that parents may be more anxious for the female offspring to go to college than for their male offspring to do so. In response to the question concerning whether the respondent was ever discouraged from going to college because she was a woman, 14 women replied "yes" and 46 replied "no." No attempt was made to determine whether the discouragement came from Indian or non-Indian sources, and so the question reflects a sexist orientation rather than a racist one. However, the fact that "no" responses were in such a majority indicates that racist or sexist bias was not particularly prevalent in regard to direct influence on the woman's selection of college education. A question aimed at determining the strength of racist bias by Indians against women in college also revealed that that bias, if it existed at all, was relatively slight. In answer to the question of whether they had ever been told it was not the Indian way for a woman to go to college, only 12 women said "yes," one of them adding a rather caustic comment about "bums who say they are members of AIM" and she didn't listen to them anyway. Forty-eight women answered "no" to the question. That women do perceive bias against themselves was indicated by the question asking whether they had ever felt they had been discriminated against during their college careers, and whether that discrimination was the result of their being Indian or being female. Thirty responded by indicating "Indian," 10 by indicating "woman" and nine responded by indicating both. Seven

women did not respond to the question. There is some question as to whether the women felt that they were expected to respond positively, although the question was phrased to indicate that they should respond only if they felt they had been discriminated against in some way. They were not asked to describe incidents of discrimination in any detail, since those incidents are probably of too personal or complicated a nature to describe in the context of the questionnaire. It would seem, however, that the major source of discrimination (and thus potentially a negative factor in the woman's college career) stemmed from racism rather than sexism.

The question asking whether the women felt in a competitive situation with the men in their classes did not indicate any particular trends. The question was based on the assumption that competitive behavior is not consistent with Native American value systems and that women who did feel that they were in competitive situations would probably feel some conflict between their own values and the classroom situation. The "yes" and "no" responses to the question were fairly evenly divided (28 and 32 respectively) and only one woman did not respond.

In response to the question of whether the respondent felt she was going against her Indian culture by going to college, the overwhelming response was "no." Fifty-three of the 61 women responded negatively to the question. Only four responded definitely "yes" (two citing traditional beliefs as a reason for their answer), while four gave qualified responses ("Sometime," "In some cases," "Sort of" and "Seldom"). When these answers were considered in light of the ways in which women defined in their own terms the role of women in their own tribal cultures, it was obvious that many who defined the traditional role of women as being wives and mothers also felt that they were

not going against their culture to be in college (16 out of the 61 "no" responses were from women who defined women's roles as related to home and family). There was wide variety in the responses to the question asking women to define the role of women in their own cultures. Several women felt that they should simply be themselves, two commented on the traditional role of women in matrilineal societies, and others commented on the economic needs that compelled women to take jobs.

In choosing careers, the women in the study followed the pattern noted earlier of wanting to enter service related professions. Of the careers indicated, 14 were in education, six in health, five in social work, four in counseling, four in law, and three in psychology. Five women from the Haskell group were entering vocational jobs (dental assistant, licensed practical nurse, and printer). Other career choices included: working with community development, working with recreational programs, interior design-architecture, business management, work with computers, accounting, government service, and, straightforwardly, "Anything that pays."

The student questionnaire provides information for a general profile of the Native American woman as a college student. She is interested in a career, probably one in a social service related field, intends to work after graduation, is somewhat older than the "typical" college student entering college directly out of high school, is given as much or more encouragement by her family to go to college as her male relatives, and if she feels discrimination against herself, attributes it more to racism than to sexism.

The general characteristics that emerge from the review of the literature indicate that as part of a general population of Native American college students, she is more likely to have attended a non-BIA high school (this

conclusion definitely holds for the sample in this study), is more likely to come from a home in which English is her first language (or if a native language is her first language, it will be the language always spoken in the home), and she is likely to be majoring in some field of education or social service (again, a conclusion born out in this study), and will be somewhat more likely than her Indian male classmates to persist and complete her degree.

Since the objective of this study was to arrive at a description of the status of Native American women in higher education, the data sought were primarily descriptive. Because of limitations of time and resources, much of what could have been done in the way of computer analysis of data was not done. No attempt was made to correlate variables (except in the most general way) or test hypotheses. Future research will be needed to do those things.

Some significant questions that might have been asked about marital status and number of children were deliberately omitted from the questionnaire as being of a personal nature rather than directly related to the description of the population of the study. Marital status may be an important factor in the educational achievement of Native American women. In a survey of 66 college students in Oklahoma (a survey related to their choice of science or non-science majors), 34 were male and 32 were female. The report of that survey revealed that:

> The male/female differences fit national trends as a whole. Males attributed present success in school to experiences in the armed services, previous work experience, the support of the BIA (financial) and spouses (emotional and financial); and women tended to attribute success to having avoided marriage or getting divorced, even though they felt the lack of financial support more keenly than did the males. The males tended to attribute their previous drop-out from school to a "lack of readiness" and the women to marriage or financial difficulties. Sixty-five percent of the married males claim financial support from working spouses. Only one of the married women claimed support from

her husband. Of the divorced and separated males, none h[illegible] care of children issuing from the previous marriage. All the divorced, and separated (and naturally, the widowed) women had care of the children.[39]

Given the fact that 26 of the 61 students in the present study identified the roles of women in their own tribal cultures as those of wife and mother, it would seem that many Indian women may feel strong pressure to get married and raise children. One woman responded to the question of motivation by responding "For my daughter." The question of what relationship exists between a Native American woman's marital status and her educational motivation and achievement deserves study in its own right.

In seeking to obtain information about Native American faculty members, I relied on personal contacts. I obtained nine completed questionnaires (two of which were not from faculty members but were from women who had completed advanced degrees, one Master's in Social Work and one Ph.D. in Folklore). I broadened the base of my survey by including women who were not faculty but who had completed advanced degrees. A number of other people did not respond, partly, I think, because the questionnaires were distributed in a group setting without a personal follow-up asking for their completion. In addition, I conducted personal interviews with four women who are either currently in graduate school or who will be entering during the winter quarter, 1977.

These women constitute not so much a random sample of Indian women in higher education as they do a group of unique individuals. If the number of Indian women in college is small in comparison with the size of the Indian population generally, the size of the population that has either completed a graduate degree or is presently working on one is even smaller.

Rather than offering these women as representative of Indian women, I would rather present them as Indian women who have made unusual achievements.

Of the women who responded to the questionnaire, two were born in Texas, four in Oklahoma, one in New York, one in California, and one in South Dakota. Three are Cherokee, one is Creek, one is Choctaw, one is Southern Cheyenne, one is Hunkpapa-Sihasapa Lakota, one is Seneca, and one is Cahuilla. Six reported receiving more encouragement than their male relatives to go to college, one reported as much encouragement, and one reported less encouragement and in fact was discouraged from going to college so that a male relative could be sent instead. Five have received Ph.D. degrees, two have completed all work toward a Ph.D. except the dissertation, and two have master's degrees. Six currently hold faculty positions in colleges or universities, one has held college teaching positions, one is employed on an Indian related project with a national professional organization, and one works in an urban Indian community based service organization.

Four indicated that they felt they had been discriminated against in their college careers more because they were women. One felt the discrimination was based on the fact that she was Indian. Two felt they had experienced discrimination on both counts, and two indicated no experiences of discrimination. In defining their own roles as Native American women in higher education they generally saw themselves as aiding Indian students, supplying information to Indian communities, and presenting Indian concerns to non-Indian communities. One defined part of her role as being a role model of a competent Indian woman. One indicated that she represented the Indian community to non-Indians by being the only Indian woman that many people had stated they knew. Two saw a primary function in offering service to Indian communities (one of these works in a community based child service center). All but the one saw themselves in one way or another relating to

Indian students.

The personal interviews were conducted with women who are students in various graduate programs at the University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University, and Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington. One is in public health, two in education, one in anthropology, one is just entering a graduate program in anthropology, and one is a second year law student. One is a candidate for a master's degree and four are candidates for doctorates. An interesting similarity in their backgrounds is that all except two went to Catholic or protestant grade or high schools. The two exceptions went to public school, one in a small town in Oklahoma and one in Idaho. The one from Idaho also attended a Bureau high school in Santa Fe, New Mexico. All but two had encouragement from their families to go to college, although in only one case were the parents college-educated. One who had no real encouragement from her family had very little contact with her parents from the age of fourteen. The other said her family was basically indifferent to her going to college, although her mother seemed to express some resentment toward her education. This woman decided to enter college only after leaving home and being on her own for several years. She said that in her family women had received less encouragement than men to go to college mainly because women were more pressured to marry and have children. All of these women have either worked in Indian related programs or intend to pursue careers related to Indian communities.

One interesting fact commented on by two of the women was that they felt they received more encouragement than their male relatives to go to college because they made better grades in high school than their male relatives, and parents encouraged their children more on the basis of

grades than of sex. One has five brothers and sisters, and two of her brothers have finished college but with some difficulty. One who has eleven brothers and sisters said that two of her brothers had attempted college but did not finish. It would seem from this limited amount of information that Indian parents seem to encourage their children to go to college if they feel the children can succeed, and one major indicator of success is grades.

Two of the women felt that they had been discriminated against in their college careers because of their Indianness, primarily. One said that the state from which she came was very racist and the University that she attended for her undergraduate degree had graduated only one or two other Indian students. The two who felt discrimination on the basis of Indianness also said that they had experienced some sexist discrimination. Four women felt that they had experienced more sexist discrimination and had not experienced racist discrimination. Two of these indicated that they felt that their Indianness had in fact at times been an asset. Two decided to seek higher degrees because they had worked in the field of education and were dissatisfied with the quality of education being offered to Indian students. Two were interested in the study of Indian cultures and so decided to enter the field of anthropology, in which they felt an advanced degree was necessary for their career objectives. One had worked with an Indian alcoholism program and left to get a master's degree in public health to further her career. The law student said that from the time she entered college she wanted to go to law school, and her primary motivation for that decision was hearing her father and his friends talking about the need for legal representation for Indian communities.

Although three of the women have children, only one is married at the present time.

One question that was asked on the faculty questionnaire and in interviews was whether the women had ever been put down by an Indian man for being an educated woman. This question was in some ways equivalent to the question on the student questionnaire "Have you ever been told that it is not the Indian way for a woman to get a college degree?" The question about being put down has elicited the most emotional response of any of the questions asked in the interviews. The emotion has generally seemed a combination of irony, amusement, and exasperation. Sometimes this kind of a put down, if one may use so unscientific a term, is based upon the woman's unacceptability for marriage once she is educated. In some cases it seems to be based upon some sense of economic competition. In the faculty questionnaires, two women reported that they had not experienced such comments from Indian men.

The reasons or comments that women made about the experience are interesting. One woman commented that she had been put down "only by a few educated Indian men and one 'activist,'" One woman commented that professional Indian women seemed to have difficulty with each other in terms of appropriate roles when Indian males were present. One said "Yes, socially--sometimes teasing." The general trend of comments would indicate that women would be more likely to be put down in the presence of Indian men in organization meetings and outside the context of their own communities, although one woman reported the put down coming from her father and from uneducated Indian men who considered her somewhat strange. The fact that the educated Indian women questioned have with three exceptions (one student interviewed reported that

she had not had such an experience) experienced the "put down" may indicate both a certain sense of male chauvinism unrelated to Indian cultural values at all, or a certain persistence of the sense tha woman's place is in the home, which could be associated with traditional Indian value systems, or a certain sense of economic competition where Indian men feel that Indian women are taking jobs that they themselves should be getting. In some ways, the put down may also be becoming a part of the patterns of male-female interaction that have traditionally been defined in Indian cultures. The teasing or joking relationships that still exist in Indian community life as a part of socialization processes are being extended to take in new situations, and the educated Indian woman, anomoly though she may seem, is still moving in an Indian community, although it is often a community of other professional Indian people interacting on a national level through meetings or conferences. The put down is sometimes done in that teasing sense that makes it a part of an expected behavior pattern. This is not to deny the fact that it is also sometime done in dead seriousness. Whatever its source, the put down seems to be a common experience of Native American women in higher education, and a social pressure they must face.

If the Native American faculty and professional women questioned and the women currently in graduate school whe were interviewed are highly unusual in their accomplishments in relation to most Native American women, they are also strongly committed to their sense of Native American identity, and they are committed to playing an active role in assisting other Indian women (and Indian students generally) to get through college. They are also strongly committed to playing some role that will benefit Native American communities in the country today.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

There are several recommendations for research that can be made as a result of this preliminary descriptive study. There needs to be research that deals specifically with the question of aspiration to college of male and female Native American high school students. I have not found any major research that deals with this topic, although I have not reviewed all the literature on Indian education that might deal with this subject. Studies should be done in high schools to determine the perceptions of male and female Native American students about their ability to go on to college and also to find out whether teachers and counselors have different perceptions of the abilities of male and female students to succeed in college. A very important study would be one directed toward parents and their aspirations for their male and female children, and whether those aspirations are more strongly influenced by cultural or economic factors, or what proportions of each.

Parental support and encouragement seem to be the greatest factors in motivating Indian students to complete high school and go to college. Questions of motivation need to be explored more fully. In regard to the question in the survey I conducted of whether women have received more, equal or less support and encouragement than their male relatives, the women I interviewed indicated that generally the support seemed to depend more on grades in high school as an indication of future success in college. The women generally tended to do better than their male relatives in high school and thus were considered to be more likely candidates for a college education than males. Only one woman indicated that there was a feeling in her family that immediate entry into the job market after high school was a pressure on males while education was considered more appropriate for females. In

general, the women interviewed seemed to have achieved more advanced degrees and been more successful in completing their undergraduate degrees than their male relatives. Further research might reveal some differences in parental attitude toward male and female students as factors in the selection of college education.

Studies of acculturation in Indian tribes seem to indicate that women are less acculturated than men and have a more conservative attitude toward cultural change than men.[40] For those women involved in higher education, then, the values and attitudes that they display should be different than those of men. At least one research study contradicts this conclusion. Ryan's study of personality factors of Native American students at the University of South Dakota indicates that there were no significant differences between male and female Native American students on the basis of data gathered on a personality inventory form administered to sixty-five undergraduate and graduate students at the University of South Dakota.[41] On the other hand, Ryan found significant differences between Native American and non-Native American female students on nine of the 22 traits measured by the inventory.[42] It is not within the scope of this study to discuss the differences in Native American male and female college students in terms of personality traits that might contribute to success or failure in college. This area might be an interesting one to explore. A study of the role of marriage in the life patterns of male and female Native American students would probably be very valuable.

Given the limitations of time and availability of information, the present study can only represent a very preliminary investigation of the status of Native American women in higher education. It is hoped that

more time and money can be made available at a later date and that the important fields of female Native American students' motivations and perceptions can be researched.

CONCLUSION

Native American women constitute a significant pool of resources for the future development of strength and stability in Native American communities. Their roles in their own homes and families are part of their traditional contributions to the maintenance of their communities. In their new roles as college students and college graduates, many Native American women are playing important roles in education, in community service organizations, and in national organizations where they represent the concerns of their people to non-Indians. They are advocates for and participants in Indian community life at various levels. But their numbers are very small, and there are still many barriers to the participation of Native American students in higher education. One Indian woman phrased the problem very succinctly, and her statement certainly has relevance to this study. She said:

> Since 1969 among the Pueblos of New Mexico which number approximately 30,000 people about 250 Indian people have graduated from college. Of this 250 persons, 110 are women. That is less than one percent of the people and far less than one-half of one percent of the people who are women. This speaks directly to absence of opportunity because the coping skills of Indian people belie any accusations of lack of intelligence. What this means is that Indian people are being denied the opportunity to integrate the formal educational processes into tribal organization and structure.[43]

Although the subject of this paper has been the status of Native American women in higher education, the emphasis in research and development of programs must be on the availability of opportunity for all Native American students who want to pursue a college education. The skills of college-educated

men and women are needed in Indian communities--in health, education, social service programs, resource management and development, in all those areas on which the future economic development and social stability of Indian communities depends. The results of this study tend to indicate that Indian women do not have significantly different problems than Indian men in getting a college degree. In some instances being an Indian woman may be a decided advantage over being an Indian man. But this is only true in very limited instances.

The greatest pressures on Indian women may be those associated with traditional Indian values toward home and family, the role of wife and mother being difficult to combine with that of full-time college student or full-time professional. But some women are combining those roles successfully and hopefully more will do so in the future. The Indian woman in higher education has a commitment to her family and community, and to herself, to develop her own potential skills and talents most fully so that she can participate most fully and effectively in her community, be it one of students in a University setting, or community people, or a community of Indian professionals working in government or professional organizations. The need for that commitment is not unique to women but to Indian people generally. The roles of men and women in traditional Indian cultures are complimentary ones--each sex performs valuable functions for the continuation of the society as a whole, and the society values the contributions of its members who perform their functions with skill. Hopefully the complimentary nature of male and female roles will continue to be recognized in contemporary Indian societies and men and women will work together in the future as they have in the past.

NOTES

[1]Joseph G. Gilfillan, "The Ojibwe in Minnesota," Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, IX (St. Paul, Minnesota: Published by the Society, 1901), p. 58.

[2]Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," The Massachusetts Review, XVI (1975), 698; Shirley Hill Witt, "Native Women Today, Sexism and the Indian Woman," Civil Rights Digest, VI, no. 3 (Spring, 1974), 29

[3]Dorothy Clarke Wilson, Bright Eyes: The Story of Susette La Flesche, An Omaha Indian (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974), pp. 116-20, 151.

[4]Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann. Boston: For Sale by Cupples, Upham & Co., G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, and by the Author, 1883), p. 264.

[5]Wilson, Bright Eyes, pp. 315, 329.

[6]Sar A. Levitan and William B. Johnston, Indian Giving, Federal Programs for Native Americans (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 54-55.

[7]Office of Special Concerns, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Vol. III: American Indians (HEW Publication No. ()S) 75-122, July, 1974), p. 58.

[8]Ibid., p. 59.

[9]United States Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Subject Reports, Final Report PC920-1F, American Indians (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 5.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Office of Special Concerns, p. 40.

[12]United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Office of Indian Education Programs, Fiscal Year 1974 Statistics Concerning Indian Education (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Indian Junior College, Publications Service, [1974]), p. 36

[13]Higher Education Evaluation: Student Characteristics and Opinions. Research and Evaluation Report Series No. 20-A (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Indian Education Resources Center, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973), pp. 9, 82.

[14]"Enrollment Statistics in Institutions of Higher Education," (Data Management Center, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, [1976]). See summary of data in appendix 5.

[15]United States Bureau of the Census, Table 5, p. 18.

[16]Charles S. Owens and Willard P. Bass, The American Indian High School Dropout in the Southwest (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc., 1969. Research and Evaluation Report Series No. 42-02, reprinted 1976 by Office of Indian Education Programs, Indian Education Resources Center, Albuquerque, New Mexico), p. 7.

[17]Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, Education-Related Preferences and Characteristics of College-Aspiring Urban Indian Teen-agers: A Preliminary Report (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota, Training Center for Community Programs, 1969), p. 4.

[18]Wayne L. Larson, A Comparison of the Differential Effect of Ethnicity and Perception of Family Income on Educational Aspiration, Preparation and Parental Influence-Attempts of Indian and non-Indian Students in Four Rural High Schools in Montana (Report No. AES-Bull-659; Bozeman: Montana State University, Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, October, 1971), p. 11

[19]Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge. 1969 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate. Made by its Special Subcommittee on Indian Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 83.

[20]Office of Special Concerns, p. 45.

[21]United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, Newsletter in Higher Education (Albuquerque, New Mexico, Division of Public School Relations, January, 1970), p. 2.

[22]Higher Education Evaluation, pp. 3, 10.

[23]Ibid., pp. 3,7, 16-17.

[24]Ibid., p. 30.

[25]Information obtained from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Evaluation, Research and Development, Albuquerque, New Mexico, courtesy of Mr. LeRoy Falling.

[26]William Charles Hauck, "A Study of American Indian Graduates of Black Hills State College," (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of South Dakota, 1971), p. 36.

[27]Woods and Harkins, p. 13.

[28]Ina Abrahams, "Vocational Interest of Selected Indian College Students as Measured by the Kuder Preference Record," Journal of American Indian Education, II, no. 1 (October, 1962), 21

[29]"Higher Education of Southwestern Indians with Reference to Success and Failure," Journal of American Indian Education, IV, no. 2 (January, 1965), 10.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Walter Patton and Everett D. Edington, "Factors Related to the Persistence of Indian Students at College Level," Journal of American Indian Education, XII, no. 3 (May, 1973), 20.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Information obtained from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Evaluation, Research and Development, Albuquerque, New Mexico, courtesy of Mr. LeRoy Falling.

[34]Robert Norris, "The Effects of Selected Cultural Variables Influencing the College Performances of Native American Indians," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1971), pp. 45, 87-88.

[35]Estelle Fuchs and Robert Havighurst, To Live on This Earth (New York: Doubleday, 1972), p. 261.

[36]Patricia Locke, A Survey of College and University Programs for American Indians (Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1974).

[37]Glen Arthur Just, "American Indian Attitudes Toward Education in Select Areas of South Dakota," (Unpublished master's thesis, South Dakota State University, Brookings, South Dakota, 1970), p. 63.

[38]Rayna Green, "The Barriers Obstructing the Entry of Native Americans into the Natural Sciences," (Unpublished report prepared for the Project on Native Americans in Science, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C., October, 1976), p. 22.

[39]Ibid., p. 7.

[40]See, for example, Louise S. Spindler, "Menominee Women and Culture Change," American Anthropological Association Memoir 91 (Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association, 1962), p. 45.

[41]Robert Anthony Ryan, "An Investigation of Personality Traits of Native American College Students at the University of South Dakota," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Dakota, 1973), pp. 81-82.

[42]Ibid., p. 83.

[43]Evelyn Lance Blanchard, "Organizing and American Indian Women," Paper presented at the Working Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Native American Women, sponsored by the Women's Research Program, National Institute of Education, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 12, 1976. The information on Pueblo college graduates is from the all-Indian Pueblo Council, 1000 Indian School Road, N.W., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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APPENDICES

1. Data on Native American Women in Higher Education
2. Educational Characteristics of the U.S. Total Population and Urban and Rural Indians, 1970
3. Number of Native American Students Graduating in Various Professions While Under the Sponsorship of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Higher Education Scholarship Program
4. Bureau of Indian Affairs Higher Education Program, Fiscal Year 1974
5. Summary of Statistics--Native American Students in Higher Education
6. Student Questionnaire
7. Faculty Questionnaire
8. Summary of Questionnaire Data from Students

DATA ON NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

		TOTAL over 16 years	16 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 & ove
TOTAL Female Population Over 16	a	233 266 (100%)	32 740 (14%)	33 213 (14.2%)	50 111 (21.5%)	39 173 (16.8%)	54 929 (23.5%)	23 100 (9.9%)
Mediun School Years Completed		10.5	10.6	12.2	11.5	10.4	9.2	7.5
% of High School Graduates		34.6	19.2	57.7	44.8	34.8	28.4	14.9
TOTAL FEmale Population With Some College	b	23 632 (100%)	953 (4%)	5634 (23.8%)	6566 (27.8%)	3925 (16.6%)	5201 (22%)	1353 (5.7%)
% of Female Population over 16[1]		10.1	2.9	17	13.1	10	9.5	5.9
Number with 1-3 Years College	c	17 771 (100%)	945 (5.3%)	5029 (28.3%)	4610 (25.9%)	2726 (15.3%)	3653 (20.5%)	808 (4.5%)
% of Female Pop. With Some College[2]		75.2	2.9	15.1	9.2	7	6.7	3.5
Number with 4 or more Years College	d	5861 (100%)	8 (.1%)	605 (10.3%)	1956 (33.4%)	1199 (20.5%)	1548 (26.4%)	545 (9.3%)
% of Female Pop. With Some College[3]		24.8	.8	10.7	29.8	30.5	29.8	40.3
% of Total Female Population[4]		2.5	.02	1.8	3.9	3.1	2.8	2.4

[1] % of Native American Women Who entered College (b/a).

[2] % of Native American Women who have begun but not "finished" college (c/b).

[3] % of Native American Women who began and "finished" college (d/b).

[4] % of Native American Women who "finish" College (d/a).

("finish" meaning 4 or more years of College)

Source: United States- Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-1F, American Indians, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973. table 5.

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TABLE E-2

Educational Characteristics of the U.S. Total population and Urban and Rural Indians, 1970

	U.S. Total	Am. Indians Total	Indians Urban Concentration		INDIANS				Indians-Rural Concentration			
			Urban U.S.	Calif.	Oklahoma*		Washington		Rural U.S.	ARIZ-ONA	NEW MEX.	SO. DAK.
Schooling Completed (16 Yrs. of Age or Older)												
Males: % 8 Yrs. Schooling Or less	27%	37%	26%	23%	34%		28%		46%	50%	46%	42%
% High School Graduates	54	34	46	46	38		39		25	25	26	25
% 4 Yrs. College Or more	12.6	3.5	5.6	4.0	4.1		2.8		1.5	1.3	1.6	1.7
Median Schooling (yrs)	12.1	10.4	11.5	11.6	10.7		11.0		9.4	9.1	9.4	9.7
Females: % 8 Yrs Schooling or Less	25%	34%	25%	23%	31		28		43%	52%	47%	37%
% High School Graduates	55	35	44	46	38		36		25	23	26	26
% 4 Yrs. College or more	7.8	2.5	3.8	3.2	1.1		1.9		1.2	0.8	1.2	1.2
Median Schooling (yrs)	12.1	10.5	11.4	11.6	10.8		10.9		9.7	8.7	9.3	10.1
Enrollment in School					Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural				
% 3-4 Yrs. Old	14	14%	11.2%	15.2%	6.1%	5.4%	11.1%	8.8%	15.1%	15.6%	17.4%	25.1%
% 18-24 Yrs. Old: Male	37	26	27	22	32	28	24	24	25	31	31	33
Female	27	21	22	19	23	21	21	13	20	25	24	18

* Data on persons 16 yrs of age or older not available by urban/rural. Data on persons of both sexes 25 yrs of age or older is as follows:

	Oklahoma		Washington	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
% 8 Yrs of Schooling or Less	30	50	28	39
% H.S. Graduates	47	28	43	31
% 4 Yrs College or More	6.1	2.7	4.1	1.7
Median Schooling	11.6	9	11.2	10.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population; General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1)-D1; Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1)-D1; Subject Reports: American Indians; PC (2)-1F.

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APPENDIX 3

NUMBER OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS GRADUATING IN VARIOUS PROFESSIONS WHILE UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS HIGHER EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM.*

FY Year 1975

EDUCATION	335	COMPUTER SCIENCE	7
HEALTH FIELDS	198	AGRICULTURE	7
SOCIOLOGY	165	CHEMISTRY	6
BUSINESS	110	RELIGION	6
PSYCHOLOGY	82	PHILOSOPHY	6
FINE ARTS	57	GEOLOGY	6
ENGLISH	38	VETERNARIAN MEDICINE	6
HISTORY	34	ARCHITECTURE	4
COUNSELING	29	WILDLIFE SCIENCE	4
BIOLOGY	27	HUMANITIES	3
POLITICAL SCIENCE	27	GEOGRAPHY	3
HOME ECONOMICS	22	MATHEMATICS	3
ANTHROPOLOGY	19	ECONOMICS	3
ETHNIC STUDIES	19	LINGUISTICS	2
INDUSTRIAL ARTS	17	HORTICULTURE	2
COMMUMICATION ARTS	16	URBAN PLANNING	2
JOURNALISM	14	ZOOLOGY	2
ENGINEERING	13	ELECTRONICS	2
LAW (UNDERGRADUATE)	12	FORESTRY	2
LIBERAL ARTS	12	RESEARCH	2
COMMUNITY SERVICES	11	PHOTOGRAPHY	1
POLICE SCIENCE	10	AMERICAN STUDIES	1
NATURAL RESOURCES (ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE)	9	LIBRARY SCIENCE	1
		ARCHEOLOGY	1
		RECREATION	1
		OTHER (UNLISTED)	9

SPECIAL PROGRAMS (ADVANCED DEGREES)

Law.....35

American Indian Scholarships 65

Ind. School Adm program 30

GRAND TOTAL.....1497

DCE/Higher Education 10/24/75

*Information obtained from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Evaluation Research and Development, Albuquerque, New Mexico, courtesy of Mr. LeRoy Falling

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Table 13. Bureau of Indian Affairs Higher Education Program
Fiscal Year 1974*

Area	Total Number Number Students	Number Under-Graduates	Number Graduates Students	Under-Graduate Earning Degree	Graduates Earning Degrees
GRAND TOTALS	13,895	13,374	521	1,141	226
ABERDEEN 1/	1,852	1,829	23	126	2
ALBUQUERQUE	751	738	13	77	1
ANADARKO	1,156	1,086	70	103	6
BILLINGS	975	975	0	48	0
EASTERN	235	229	6	5	0
JUNEAU	1,197	1,160	37	175	33
MINNEAPOLIS	1,540	1,512	28	150	1
MUSKOGEE	1,826	1,749	77	193	76
NAVAJO 2/	1,820	1,820	0	96	0
PHOENIX	912	893	19	63	4
PORTLAND	907	887	20	64	6
SACRAMENTO	512	496	16	41	9
SPECIAL PROGRAMS 3/	212	0	212	0	88

1/ Includes students enrolled in Sinte Gleska and Lakota Indian Junior Colleges.
2/ Includes students enrolled in Navajo Community College
3/ Includes students under American Indian Scholarships contract, American Indian Law Program and those enrolled in Indian School Administrator's Program

Note: Approximately 55% of the students are single and 45% are married
*Source: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Office of Indian Education Programs. Fiscal Year 1974 Statistics Concerning Indian Education (Lawrence, Kansas Haskell Indian Junior College, /1974/).

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APPENDIX 5

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS--NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

			Percentage of total Student Population
Undergraduate (Full Time)	Total	32,757	0.6
	Female	14,544	0.6
	Male	18,213	0.6
Graduate (Full and Part Time)	Total	3,465	0.3
	Female	1,491	0.3
	Male	1,974	0.3
Professional Enrollment (Full and Part Time)	Total	730	0.3
	Female	191	0.4
	Male	539	0.3
Graduate (Full Time)	Total	1,397	0.4
	Female	539	0.4
	Male	858	0.3
Professional (Full Time)	Total	538	0.3
	Female	101	0.3
	Male	437	0.3
Undergraduate (Full and Part Time)	Total	49,401	0.6
	Female	23,026	0.6
	Male	26,375	0.6

Regional Breakdown of Enrollment statistics of Native American Full time Undergraduate Students

Region 1 (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont)

Total	847	0.2
Female	298	0.2
Male	449	0.2

Region 2 (New Jersey, New York)

Total	1580	0.2
Female	703	0.2
Male	877	0.3

Region 3 (Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia)

Total	1,081	0.2
Female	449	0.2
Male	632	0.2

Region 4 (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Caroline, South Caroline, Tennessee)

Total	2,015	0.2
Female	904	0.2
Male	1,111	0.2

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Region 5 (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin)

Total	3,664	0.3
Female	1,648	0.3
Male	2,016	0.3

Region 6 (Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas)

Total	6,462	1.1
Female	2,929	1.2
Male	3,533	1.1

Region 7 (Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska)

Total	2,091	0.7
Female	935	0.7
Male	1,156	0.8

Region 8 (Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming)

Total	3,287	1.5
Female	1,646	1.8
Male	1,641	1.3

Region 9 (Arizona, California, Nevada)

Total	8,585	1.1
Female	3,576	1.0
Male	5,009	1.1

Region 10 (Idaho, Oregon, Washington)

Total	3,145	1.4
Female	1,356	1.4
Male	1,789	1.4

Source: "Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education, Fall, 1974." Data Management Center, Computer Operations Division, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

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APPENDIX 6

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

THE STATUS OF INDIAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The purpose of this questionnaire is to compile information for a research study on the status of Indian women in higher education. The study is being sponsored by the Women's Research Bureau of the National Institute of Education in Washington, D.C. as part of an extensive study on Indian women in the United States today.

There has been very little research done on Indian women in higher education. Your assistance in filling out this questionnaire will be most valuable in contributing to the available knowledge on this subject. The results of the study will be published by the Women's Research Program.

Clara Sue Kidwell
Associate Professor
Native American Studies
University of California
Berkeley, California

Birthplace_____ Age_____

Tribe_____ Degree of Indian blood_____

Current Home Address_____ College Class

_____ Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior Graduate

Current School Address_____ Major_____

_____ What degree are you working toward?

Number of Brothers in your family?____ AA BA BS MA MS MED. EdD. PhD.

Number of Sisters in your family_____ Other (Please specify)

Where did you attend elementary school?_____

Where did you attend high school?_____

If you are an undergraduate, do you intend to go on to complete a bachelor's degree?

Yes No

Do you intend to go to graduate school? Yes No Uncertain

Do you intend to work after you graduate? Yes No

If yes, what kind of employment or career do you expect to have?_____

_____

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Number of brothers attending college_____

Number of sisters attending college_____

Number of years of school completed by mother_____

Number of years of school completed by father_____

What do you feel is the most significant factor that has motivated you to go to college? (If you feel that one of the following is significant, please rank the factors in order of importance, 1, 2, 3, etc.)

_____Parental pressure

_____Need for future employment

_____Desire for a professional career

_____General interest

_____Encouragement by high school teacher or guidance counselor

_____Other (Please explain)

Do you feel that you have had less equal more encouragement than your brothers (or other close male relatives your age) to go to college? (Please circle one response)

Has anyone ever discouraged you from attending college because you are female?

Yes No

Do you feel that you are in a competitive situation with the men in your classes?

Yes No

Is it your perception that women students perform
More poorly as well as better than men in your classes?

If you feel that you have experienced discrimination at any time in your college career, do you feel that it was because you were Indian, or because you were a women?
Indian Women

Have you ever been told that it is not the Indian way for a woman to get a college education (Or any comments to that effect)?

Yes No

Do you feel that you are going against your own Indian customs or culture to get a college degree?

Could you briefly describe what you feel is the typical role that a woman is expected to play in your tribal culture.

_____

_____

_____

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APPENDIX 7

FACULTY QUESTIONNAIRE

THE STATUS OF NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

This questionnaire is being used to gather information for a study on the Status of Native American Women in higher Education, sponsored by the Women's Research Program of the National Institute of Education. The study is part of a major research project on the status of Native American women generally in the United States. Since there is virtually no research in this area being carried on at the present time, your assistance will be most valuable in contributing to the knowledge of the topic.

Clara Sue Kidwell
Associate Professor
Native American Studies
3415 Dwinelle Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

Name_____

Place of Birth_____

Tribal Affiliation_____

Grade School attended (Name and Location)_____

High School Attended (Name and Location)_____

Highest degree you have obtained, academic field, and name of University or college awarding the degree_____

_____

Present position (title, academic area, and location)

_____

_____

If you feel that you have ever been discriminate against in your college career, do you feel that it was more because you were Indian or because you were a woman?

_____

Did you receive less, more, or as much encouragement as your male relatives to attend college?_____

What motivated you to go to college?

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What motivated you to seek a higher degree?_____

_____

Have you ever been put down by an Indian man for being an educated woman?_____

_____

What major functio would you define for yourself as a Native American Woman in higher education, i.e., helping Indian students through school, representing the Indian community to non-Indian people, serving Indian communities, etc.?

May I have your permission to quote your statements where appropriate to the research report? Yes No

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APPENDIX 8

SUMMARY OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA FROM STUDENTS

Background (Place of Birth, current home address and/or place of high school)

Urban	34
Rural or reservation community	27

Educational Background (type of school attended)

Urban	Mission	Bureau of Indian Affairs	Public
Elementary	1	2	30-1/2
High School		4-1/2	29-1/2
Rural or Reservation			
Elementary	6	1	20
High School	5	6	15

Tribal Groups designated by geographical area of Tribe

Northern Plains	15
Southern Plains	16
Southwest	6
California-Nevada	1
Plateau	1
Eastern Woodlands	7
Five Civilized Tribes	5
Caribbean	1

Age

18	1	26	2
19	9	27	3
20	8	28	1
21	5	29	1
22	5	30	1
23	7	31-35	1
24	5	36-40	5
25	3	42	2

Degree of Indian Blood

4/4	30
3/4	4
1/2	18
1/4	6
NR	3

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College Class

Freshman	16
Sophomore	23
Junior	3
Senior	5
Graduate	3
NR	11

Number of Brothers in Family		Number of Sisters in Family	
0	6	0	5
1	17	1	10
2	7	2	19
3	15	3	8
4	8	4	10
5	4	5	5
6	1	6	3
7	2	7	1
11	1		

Degree being worked toward

AA	11
BA	21
BS	7
MA	1
MS	3
Ed.D.	1
Ph.D.	6
M.PH	2
NR	8

Do you intend to complete a bachelor's degree

Yes	49
No	4
NR	8

Do You intend to go to graduate school

Yes	28
No	7
Uncertain	22
NR	4

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Number of Brothers in College		Number of Sisters in College	
1	11	1	20
2	7	2	2
3	2		

Number of Years of School Completed by Parents

Mother		Father	
1-5	0	1-5	2
6-10	19	6-10	20
11-12	24	11-12	16
Some College	9	Some College	8
College Degree	2	College Degree	3
NR	7	Advanced Degree	1
		NR	11

Significance of motivational factors (Number of times rank was assigned)

	Parental Pressure	Employment	Career	Interest	Teacher or Counselor Encouragement
1	5	14	27	17	3
2	7	12	12	10	3
3	10	14	10	4	3
4	7	9	0	7	4
5	4	0	5	0	12
				1	1

Do you plan to work after graduation?

Yes	47
No	1
NR	2

Did you Recieve less, equal or more encouragement than brothers or other close male relatives to go to college?

Less	6
Equal	26-1/2
More	23-1/2
NR	5

Were you ever discouraged from going to college because you were a woman:

Yes	14
No	46

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If you feel you have been discriminated against in your college career, was it more because you were Indian or because you were a woman?

Indian	30
Woman	10
Both	9
NR	7

Have you ever been told that it was not the Indian way for a woman to go to college?

Yes	13
No	48

Do you feel that you are going against your own Indian customs or culture to get a college degree?

Yes	4
No	53
Sometimes	4

Do you feel in a competitive situation with the men in your classes?

Yes	28
No	32
NR	1

Is it your perception that Indian women perform more poorly than, equal to, or better than Indian men in your classes?

More poorly	2
As well as	41
Better	14
Some women do better	3
NR	1

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